Special Issue: The CIA and Cuba

How Our Cloak-and-Dagger Agency Violates U.S. Law and Shapes U.S. Policy, Pages 1-4

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When Is Bob Kennedy Going to Indict Allen Dulles?

The government's purpose in indicting Masferrer for violating the Neutrality Act was a limited one. When reporters at a hurriedly summoned press conference in the Justice Department asked a fuller explanation of the indictment obtained in Miami, they were referred to the article in the April 8 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* on the anti-Castro exiles. This said that to the Cubans "the greatest psychological error we have made has been in permitting Cubans of the Masferrer stripe to remain in Miami." This ex-Communist who became a Batista Senator had a private army of thugs whose atrocities "made him the most hated man in Cuba," and according to the *Post* article, "does incalculable damage to the anti-Castro cause. He hires young Americans who have more guts than brains, poses with them for the newspaper photographers, then ships them over to Cuba where they are promptly captured." The indictment and the State Department's action two days earlier in revoking the asylum too readily granted him by the Immigration Service in January, 1959, was to clear U.S. skirts of association with Batista elements in its undercover activities against the Castro regime.

When Lawlessness Is Official

But the statute under which the indictment of Masferrer was obtained (U.S. Code, Title 18, Section 960, quoted in our March 27 issue) covers anyone who "knowingly begins . . . or provides or prepares a means for" any military expedition against a country with which the United States is at peace. When one reporter asked the Justice Department press officer whether this section would not also cover Miro Cardona's declaration of war against the Castro regime in New York two days earlier, there was no reply. A more important question might have been asked. If there are grounds for indicting Masferrer, there seem to be far more grounds for indicting Allen W. Dulles, chief of the CIA. I do not suggest that Mr. Dulles has been acting without authorization in the aid the CIA has been giving the anti-Castro forces. I merely state that as a matter of law he has been the key figure in a conspiracy to violate the Neutrality Act on a scale far wider, of course, than the ludicrous little Masferrer-engineered invasion of last October 4 for which three young Americans paid with their lives in Cuba.

Two incidents in Florida late last summer and early Fall first brought to the attention of local law enforcement officials and the press that undercover activities in violation of the Neutrality Act were being carried on in the Miami area under protection of the CIA. The first occurred when some boys passing a secret Cuban training camp near Homestead about 30 miles from Miami threw some firecrackers into it from a passing truck. The Cubans came out shooting; they explained to the police later that they thought they were being attacked by Communists. One 16-year old boy among the "attackers" was shot in the head. The local community was indignant; the sheriff and his deputies descended on the camp; about a dozen Cubans were held on charges of vagrancy or disorderly conduct; two were held for assault with deadly weapons. But when Miami reporters checked with the Sheriff, they were told by him that he had orders from Washington to lay off. All those arrested were let out on bond. None were prosecuted.

Those reporters who pursued the story in Washington were told at the Justice Department that the FBI was very unhappy over the situation in Florida, that the FBI felt the CIA had put it in an embarrassing position. Justice Department officials said they never knew who might be a CIA agent and they couldn't enforce the Neutrality Act for fear that someone they arrested might take the stand at his trial and testify that he was working for the U.S. government. During the fight against Batista, there had been prosecutions of violators on both sides but then no agency of the government had taken a hand in the struggle. Some reporters believe that it was then that the decision was taken to establish anti-Castro bases in the Caribbean. "We don't care what they do on foreign soil," one Justice Department official is reported to have said, "but as long as activities are carried

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How Castro Combs Out The Rebels

"This cleaning-up campaign by Castro's men in the mountains of Las Villas province has been an odd military operation. Every remote farm in that vast area became a kind of missionary settlement. The civilian army had orders not only to comb the hills for revolutionaries, but to teach illiterates to read and write, and to indoctrinate them with revolutionary principles. One thousand latrines were constructed by the militia for such of their hosts as had not even an outdoor privy. Some detachments built schools and set up classes; they tore down primitive huts and built new breeze-block houses in their places. They distributed 5,000 pairs of shoes to barefoot children. . . . In the town hall, colour-washed in hyacinth blue, a young army doctor asked the mayor for supplies of electric wire wanted urgently for the surgery he had started in the mountain village of Polovejo where he treated sixty civilian patients a day; Castro's troops were bringing a national health service with them. . . .

"Throughout Cuba, from the part-time soldiers who dig, build and stand guard after working hours to children dedicated to the revolution, Fidel is sustained by a spirit of fanatical devotion. . . . Castro may be losing support, but he still has a powerful majority of the country behind him."

—London Sunday Times report from Cuba, April 9.

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on within the U.S. they are embarrassing under the Neutrality Act." The matter is supposed to have been thrashed out in the top intelligence coordinating body in the government. At one time it was even suggested that a special grand jury be convened in Florida and told frankly of the danger that indicted persons might take the stand and claim to be acting for the CIA. If the grand jury on grounds of national policy had then refused to indict, Justice Department would feel it had been taken off the hook. There was some talk of bringing Cubans from the Homestead camp before such a grand jury, but the idea was abandoned as too risky. One danger obviously was that an independent minded grand jury might have turned in a report criticizing the CIA.

The Not-So-Abandoned Airfield

The second incident which lifted the curtain on CIA activities in the Miami area occurred one night early last Fall when a Hialeah policeman saw a four engine plane without markings land at the unused Marine Corps Air Station at Opa-licka, northwest of Miami. Two or three years ago proceedings had begun to have this field declared surplus. Dade County Port Authority wanted the field for civilian aircraft since Miami's International Airport was already crowded. The Navy approved disposal of the field; the matter was cleared with the armed services committees of Congress and the General Services Administration took charge of the field preparatory to releasing it to the Dade County Port Authority. Then suddenly the whole project bogged down.

The landing at Opa-licka reopened the question in the minds of local newspapermen. A Naval guard at Opa-licka said the mystery plane was an Air Force ship which had been forced to make an emergency landing for repairs. But when Miami police checked with the Strategic Air Command base at Homestead, neither the Command nor the Federal Aviation Authority could confirm this. When the General Services Administration was asked what the Navy was doing guarding an abandoned air field, GSA replied that this was classified information and they couldn't talk about it. A newspaper photographer who tried to take a picture of the supposedly abandoned base was yanked into the Navy guard house even though he had been standing on a public highway. This supposedly abandoned base seems to have been made available for secret use in the fight against Castro.

Apparently the CIA first got into the business of setting up exile forces in November or December, 1959. At that time it feared, not that Castro would go Communist, but that he would prove unable to run a competent government and that in the absence of a regular army (which Castro had dissolved) the country would fall apart. The CIA envisaged a Cuba broken up into several areas, each ruled by a sort of "war lord." It began quietly to set up small groups of exiles who could be shipped in and helped to take over. In 1960, as the Cuban revolution moved further left, defections grew and relations with the U.S. worsened, the CIA's little army of retainers began to expand until by now its initials are referred to jokingly in exile circles as the Cuban Invasion Authority. Under Eisenhower the CIA seems to have operated under very general directives which in effect gave it ample leeway to shape policy as it saw fit. Its political ideal seemed to be a kind of Christian Democratic government for Cuba, which would be moderately rightist. The CIA and Cuban-American big business interests had a hand in the formation of their favored group, a right-of-center coalition, the Revolutionary Democratic Front under Manuel A. de Varona in Mexico last June 22.

This group found a new rival after Manolo Ray, Castro's first Minister of Public Works, arrived in the U.S. last Oc-

Games the Belgians Play in the Congo

"Almost all non-Belgian whites were shocked to learn the government [i.e. the Moise Tshome government in Katanga] itself distributed the machetes—two truckloads—the Africans waved under the noses of the Swedes [UN troops]. It is clear the government promoted the demonstrations, knowingly risking a massacre. And it is also evident the Belgian advisers here were strongly in favor of taking the risk.

"'No responsible government,' said one diplomat, 'would have goaded the mobs to take matters in their own hands. And if the Africans are too politically immature to realize this, there is no excuse for the complicity of the Belgians.' He pointed out that not heavily armed UN forces but Africans themselves—and possibly Belgians—might some day suffer the consequences of this distribution of deadly weapons."

—Dan Kurzman, Scripps-Howard, from Elisabethville, Katanga, Washington Daily News, April 6.

Bold Dispatch Lifts Curtain on Role Played by Catholic Press in Congo

"Leopoldville, the Congo—The Church's great weapon in Congolese politics is the Courrier d'Afrique. By African standards this daily paper, which sells only in Leopoldville and its suburbs, is well-written, attractively made up and expresses a fairly free opinion.

"All shares in 'Couraf' as the Congolese call it are owned by the Flemish daily Het Volk (The People) which is wholly owned by the Workers Christian Movement (Moc) which groups and coordinates nearly all Catholic adult and youth organizations in Belgium. The MOC gets its policy from the church hierarchy so that the loyalist area's only daily paper is directly controlled by the Vatican. . . .

"Editor Gabriel Makoso and three reporters produce the paper. It subscribes to only one news service—the Congolese national one, whose foreign news comes from France Presse, a French government enterprise. It gets free the service of Dia, the Vatican agency. . . .

"It is through Couraf and its acid-penned editor Makoso (and to a lesser degree through Presence Congolaise [its weekly supplement for native readers]) that the combination of Belgian forces appears to work.

"A completely fictitious story (for instance, that 40,000 Indian farmers are to be imported by the UN on Dayal's orders to take over the land of Congolese farmers) is suggested to Makoso who never seems inclined to check facts. Makoso blazes into print with a vituperative piece calculated to send the Congolese into the streets howling for blood. Demonstrations are thus artificially created and then pointed to by ministerial advisers, politicians, priests, or others as evidence of a wave of strong public opinion on which the government should act.

"Methodically and unfailingly, every time UN Congolese relations near normal, Couraf starts a campaign of lies which a few days later has ministers—even President Joseph Kasavubu himself—making wild speeches, wrecking cooperation between the government and the international organization which keeps the country alive."

—Russell Howe, in the Washington Post, April 9.

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tober, claiming to have organized an underground from anti-Communist elements of the July 26 movement in all but one of the Cuban provinces. His left-of-center movement, the MRP, the People's Recovery Movement, wanted "Fidelismo without Fidel" and was regarded with hostility by Cuban-American business interests and with suspicion by the CIA. *Time* Magazine reported January 27 that Varona's group "apparently gets virtually all the U.S. financial aid to Cuba's underground (estimated to range from $135,000 monthly to as high as $500,000 on occasions), and Mr. 'B.' the CIA agent in charge reportedly has suggested the M.R.P. [Ray] get help from the *Frente* [Varona]." *Time* said the *Frente* had done little inside Cuba where the actual sabotage was the work of the M.R.P. Ray argued against an invasion and for aid in building up forces within Cuba but found little favor for this view inside the CIA, which preferred to deal with men whom it had itself "cleared" and checked politically.

The CIA Nominates a Sugar King

The Ray group hoped for more sympathetic treatment from the Kennedy Administration, but was at first bitterly disappointed to find not only that little had changed in Miami but even that Batista elements were still being allowed to play a part in the CIA's invasion plans. In late February or early March, exiles protested to Washington that the CIA in a meeting with them had even insisted that former supporters of Batista be included in a new united opposition organization. The notorious Mr. B referred to by *Time*—Bender is the name—presented exile leaders with a slate of 18 names as candidates for a legislative council which would pick the provisional president. This list, according to the exiles, included the Cuban sugar king, Julio Lobo; Carlos Marquez Sterling, whom Batista picked to succeed himself just before Castro took power; and Augustino Batista, no relative of the dictator but one of the wealthiest financiers of Cuba during the Batista era and of course a Batista supporter. The exiles also complained that Felix Gutierrez, once an officer of Batista's military intelligence, SIM, had been placed in charge of a new recruiting office for the rebel forces and that a CIA man was in the office with him. The exiles charged that Masferrer was among those who had been registered for service in the army by this recruiting office.

A story by Karl E. Meyer in the *Washington Post* March 22 quoted an unnamed "prominent Cuban exile" as saying, "We can't fight Fidel and the CIA as the same time." According to this account, the MRP had threatened to disband altogether "in protest over rightist attacks" and meddling by the CIA. The left-of-center exiles complained that MRP members had even been assailed as cryto-Communists in programs beamed to Cuba over Radio Swan, the anti-Castro station on an island off the Honduran coast. As a result of these threats and protests to the White House, there seems to have been a shakeup in the CIA. Mr. B has been transferred to other work. The MRP has been given wider representation in the new united National Revolutionary Council which unites Varona's group and Ray's under Miro Cardona. But

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Dr. Spock Appeals for The Haugs

It is a pleasure to report that in Cleveland four Western Reserve University faculty members, including the famous Dr. Benjamin Spock, America's foremost authority on child development, have had the humanity to file petitions in the U.S. District Court there asking for a reduction in the prison sentences imposed on Marie Reed Haug and her husband, Fred. With five others, they were sentenced to 18 months in jail and to pay $2500 fines each for conspiring to file false non-Communist affidavits with the National Labor Relations Board. Since their conviction, the Taft-Hartley oath has been repealed. They have a ten year old daughter and Dr. Spock said it would be harmful to her to be left without her parents if both go to prison. Other petitions to the court attested the good character of the Haugs. The Supreme Court had refused to hear their appeal. Whatever the technicalities, this use of the conspiracy mode of prosecution to enforce the Taft-Hartley oath was a form of political persecution, shameful in a free society and we hope the Court will be moved to suspend the prison sentences, at least in the case of Mrs. Haug.

Debunking Some Dangerously Rose-Colored Views of Diem's Regime in South Vietnam

"Among the hot spots in the cold war today, one of the hottest is South Vietnam. Here a real shooting war is going forward between Communist guerrillas and defenders of freedom."

—Leo Cherne, N.Y. Times Sunday Magazine, April 9.

"It is not the progress of Communism which is the primary source of popular anxiety and discontent, it is the progress of Fascism, the Fascism of M. Diem. For it is decidedly a Fascist regime which represents or is supposed to represent, in South Vietnam, the cause of liberty and of the West."

—Robert Guillian, Far Eastern expert of Le Monde (Paris), writing from Saigon in its issue of April 6.

"The agrovilles in the Mekong delta are the most dramatic and fruitful pioneering rural ventures since the Israeli cooperative farm, the kibbutz. [The kibbutzim are communes, not cooperatives—IFS]. The agrovilles are perhaps the most imaginative project undertaken by President Ngo [Diem]."

—Mr. Cherne in same article.

"As the Chinese countryside has its popular communes, the Vietnamese countryside saw the birth at the beginning of 1960 of the agrovilles, where the regime has aspired to regroup a part of the peasants, hoping to draw them away from Communist subversion and submit them to its political education. The experiment, conducted in haste and in an often brutal fashion, has been almost everywhere a political and economic failure."

—M. Guillian in Le Monde.

"President Ngo was as emphatic in his commitment to democratic ideals during my recent conversation with him as he was when I first met him days after he assumed the seemingly impossible burden of restoring a broken country in 1954.

—Mr. Cherne.

"The present regime, in fact, operates to multiply discontent and to give arms to the Vietminh: the muzzled press, the abolition of all liberty, the farce of a false parliamentary regime, the paralyzing dictatorship exercised by the Chief of State whose signature is required for the slightest affair, the corruption. . . . One sees South Vietnam, by a strange and fascinating mimicry, borrow part of its methods from North Vietnam and China, and transform itself more and more into a bad copy of a Communist totalitarian regime."

—M. Guillian.

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Is A Secret Agency Using Lawless Methods Compatible With A Free Society?

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the Declaration issued by the Council is as eloquent about private enterprise as it is vague about social reform (see box on page four).

A Hungary-in-Reverse Is Feared

For some months the counter-revolutionaries have been asking public endorsement from the Kennedy administration. This the White Paper gave them. But it also gave them something else, and that was the appearance that a big invasion was ready to start with U.S. support. This impression was strengthened by a whole series of leaks to the press on invasion plans. It seemed foolish to telegraph the news of an invasion in advance. But this was not so foolish if the purpose was political, to force the Administration's hand and to build up public support for action. With this purpose in mind, according to William V. Shannon in the *New York Post* April 9 the CIA had begun "planting stories about the Russians training Castro's pilots to fly MIGS and about the grim prospect that unless the U.S. acts, it will soon be too late to prevent Cuba becoming a Soviet base." In an effort to counter this the White House began giving out off-the-record stories of its own, and Chalmers Roberts in the *Washington Post* (April 11) reported on what is believed here to be very high authority that the U.S. "has no intention of getting involved militarily" and creating "a Hungary in reverse."

The Cuban-American big business interests which, along with the CIA, have been bankrolling the counter revolution, have always preferred the idea of a U.S. backed invasion to a home-grown revolt against Castro for fear the latter could not be kept under control and would inevitably retain much of the social gains made by him. These interests do not believe Castro can be overthrown from within and would welcome another U.S. occupation to maintain "order" and enforce the return of their properties. It is here that the rift has begun to appear in the past few days between them and the Kennedy administration. Miro Cardona, the new chief of the counter revolution, would like armed U.S. support. "The Administration in Washington," he told the Louisville *Courier-Journal* (Jan. 27), "should give not only support but collaboration" to the invading forces. But it is my understanding that when he was in Washington a few days ago and asked whether U.S. armed forces would come to the rescue if the invading forces bogged down, he was told that the Cubans were "on their own." From what little I can learn the Administration also made the decision against permitting a large-scale invasion in favor of small landing parties of exiles.

Revolution A La U.S. Chamber of Commerce

"The free enterprise system has been destroyed. . . . We emphatically assure those who have been unjustly dispossessed that all of their assets will be returned. . . . We shall encourage investment in private property, both national and foreign, and we shall give complete guarantees to private enterprise and to private property."

—Declaration of war against the Castro regime issued April 8 in New York by Dr. Jose Miro Cardona for the Cuban Revolutionary Council.

The President is said to be fully aware of the disastrous consequences for U.S. prestige and policy everywhere, especially in Latin America, if we get involved in war with Cuba. But how apply the brakes to so huge a propaganda and military machine? Against this background the indictment of Masferrer may serve to chill others, and prevent the situation from getting out of hand. The seizure of the Calypso by FCC men off Florida last week may be another indication in the same direction; the Calypso was broadcasting to Miami for the rebels. But the process of disentanglement is not easy. The U.S. has created a huge secret bureaucracy—the CIA today probably has as many if not more employes than the State Department—which can pursue policies of its own. With a weak President, it can make policy. Even for a strong President, it can create serious problems. For a free society, the CIA's existence raises questions of the gravest kind for the future. A government agency with many millions of dollars at its disposal, subject to no public check, allowed to habituate itself to the use of criminal methods (that is what cloak-and-dagger means), may easily become a menace not only to peace abroad but to free government at home.

Noon, April 12.

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